31 YEARS

of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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PRICE 10 CENTS

Thirty-one Years of the U. S. S. R.

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NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS: NEW YORK

Published by
NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
832 Broadway, New York City 3
December, 1948

209

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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NOTE

This pamphlet contains the text of the address of Viacheslav Molotov, Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., at the meeting of the Moscow Soviet on November 6, 1948, in celebration of the 31st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I. A NEW ECONOMIC UPSURGE

We are today celebrating the thirty-first anniversary of the Socialist Revolution in our country. The working people of the Soviet Union meet this anniversary of the Great October Revolution with a glorious record of victories achieved in the third and decisive year of the postwar Five-Year Plan.

Socialist competition is spreading and developing among the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, and is multiplying from day to day the achievements of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in the work of building Communism. The constructive efforts of the Soviet people are concentrated on the realization of the great plans for the advancement of industry and agriculture, plans of a hitherto unprecedented scale and significance. The economic might of the Soviet Union is growing and the material welfare of our people steadily rising before our eyes. Friendship among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. grows firmer and firmer, inspired by Soviet patriotism and infused with unbounded confidence in and love for the Stalin leadership of our country.

The October Revolution marked the beginning of the collapse of the capitalist system, but for nearly three decades the Soviet Union was the sole Socialist country. After the Second World War there fell away from capitalism such European countries as Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania and Yugoslavia. In the dependent and colonial countries the movement for national liberation is making giant strides. In spite of all obtacles the democratic forces are growing and becoming tempered in the struggle against the forces of reaction in the capitalist countries.

The international prestige of the U.S.S.R. is continuously growing as the main bulwark of the democratic and anti-

imperialist camp opposed to the camp of imperialism and aggression. Under the great banner of Lenin and Stalin our people are marching forward, looking back with satisfaction on the past years of heroic struggle and glorious victories and full of confidence in their future.

All efforts of our people since the victorious conclusion of the Great Patriotic War are guided by the well-known directing principles outlined by Comrade Stalin:

"Having terminated the war with victory over its enemies, the Soviet Union has entered a new, peaceful period in its economic development. At the present time the Soviet people are confronted with the task of advancing further ahead to a new economic upsurge after having consolidated the positions gained; we cannot limit ourselves to consolidating these positions for that would lead to stagnation. We must advance further ahead in order to create the conditions for a new powerful upsurge in the national economy. In the shortest possible time we must heal the wounds inflicted on our country by the enemy and restore the prewar level of development of the national economy in order considerably to surpass this level in the nearest future, raise the material well-being of the people and still further strengthen the military and economic might of the Soviet state."

Everyone can now see that the Soviet people are successfully carrying out this Stalin program of firmly consolidating the positions won and marching forward to a new economic upsurge.

Economic Progress

Whereas the program of the first year of the postwar Five-Year Plan was not completely fulfilled, since in the first year after the war much effort was spent on the reconversion of industry from a war to a peace footing, and also because of the additional difficulties which arose in connection with the drought and crop failure of 1946, already in the second year of the Five-Year Plan the position improved along the whole economic front. In 1947, our industry not only fulfilled but

considerably exceeded its annual program. The effect of this was that the combined programs of the first two years of the postwar Five-Year Plan were completely fulfilled. It must be reckoned as a great achievement of the Soviet people that already by the end of last year our industrial output had reached the level of the prewar year of 1940. Under these circumstances the present, third year is of decisive importance for the fulfillment of the postwar Five-Year Plan. On the success of our efforts, on the efforts of the party organizations, trade unions and komsomols (Communist Youth League), depends the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan as a whole and, what is especially important, the possibility of fulfilling it ahead of schedule. And we know that the idea of fulfilling the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule has taken a deep hold on the minds of the working class.

Last year the working men and women of Leningrad addressed an appeal to the working men and women of the whole country to fulfill the Five-Year Plan in four years. This appeal met with the broadcast response. Thanks to our efforts, in the first quarter of this year the usual decline of industrial output as compared with the last months of the previous year, was not in evidence. This year our industry is steadily overfulfilling its programs from quarter to quarter. In the first nine months the gross output of industry showed an increase of twenty seven per cent as against the corresponding period of last year. This fact alone indicates how rapidly the postwar rehabilitation and economic progress of our country is proceeding. This is also borne out by the fact that in the current year industrial output is proceeding at a level seventeen per cent higher than that of the prewar year 1940.

Together with the recovery and growth of industry the material prosperity of the working class is also rising. This year the aggregate payroll of factory and office workers is nearly double that of 1940.

The building of houses, schools, hospitals, rest homes and cultural institutions is proceeding on a broad scale. The program of improvement of the living and working conditions of the working people adopted in the Five-Year Plan is being

effectively realized. Of course, we shall not rest content with the successes achieved. Nor shall we forget that a number of branches of heavy and light industry, where the aftermath of the destructive effects of the period is still being felt, have not yet attained the prewar level, and that not infrequently due effort is not being made to improve the quality of industrial output. Nevertheless the achievements already accomplished enable us to accelerate the progress of the backward branches of industry and to ensure the fulfillment of the postwar Five-Year Plan for industry ahead of schedule. The Party calls us to advance, to organize and develop still better systematic struggle in the factories and collective farms for the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan in four years.

—And in the Capitalist World

In the Soviet Union we witness a general and steady expansion of industry directed by the Socialist state. Now the people's democracies have also embarked on a similar course, but this cannot be said of the capitalist countries, although they suffered immeasurably less from the war than the U.S.S.R. and the new democracies.

In the United States industrial output is not even eighty per cent of the level of 1943 when, nourished by enormous war contracts, it reached its peak. In spite of this the profits of American corporations continue to grow. Whereas in 1939 they amounted to $6,400,000,000 and at the height of the war they exceeded $24,000,000,000 per annum, last year the profits of the American monopolies reached nearly $30,000,000,000. On the other hand the wages of the American workers in these past years have been lagging heavily behind the rise of prices, which signifies a considerable deterioration in the condition of the working class. While, according to official reports, the number of unemployed in the United States barely exceeds two million, there is much data to show that this is greatly underestimated.

Or take France, where the condition of the working class is focusing general attention. The real wages of the French

workers, owing to rising prices of commodities, have in postwar years fallen by one half. It is known from published figures that in the first half of this year the profits of the French capitalists amounted to forty-three per cent of France's total national income, whereas the wages of the workers and office employees comprised only thirty-nine per cent of the national income. These figures show that profits of the French capitalists considerably exceed the total wages received by all the workers and office employees of France.

Whereas the progress of our industry is entirely based upon our internal resources and on the labor effort of the Soviet people, in the capitalist countries of Europe everything is based on the expectation of receiving credits from "Uncle Sam."

Everybody is familiar with the stir raised in Europe over the "Marshall Plan." This plan is advertised as the factor of salvation for the postwar recovery of Europe's economy. To listen to certain British or French statesmen, without American credits under the "Marshall Plan," economic recovery in the European countries is impossible. However, the American dollars which flowed this year into the pockets of the European capitalists under the United States credit plan, did not produce any real revival of industry in the countries of capitalist Europe. And they cannot produce that revival since the American credits are not being given in order to restore and expand the industries of the European countries which compete with the United States, but in order to provide a broader market for American goods in Europe and to place these countries in economic and political dependence to the capitalist monopolies which dominate the United States and further their aggressive plans, in disregard of the interests of the European peoples themselves.

In contradiction to this, the postwar recovery and expansion of industry in the U.S.S.R. is not dependent upon any capitalist country and entirely serves to satisfy the needs of its own people.

Agricultural Advances

Both industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union have entered a period of new and powerful upsurge.

Here are a few facts.

This year the gross grain harvest has already reached the level of the prewar year 1940. We achieved this in spite of the fact that the crop area has not yet attained the prewar level and that the heavy loss of tractors and agricultural machines sustained in the period of enemy occupation has not yet been repaired in agriculture. Of all the greater significance is the fact that thanks to more efficient use of available machines and a considerable improvement in the organization of labor of the men and women collective farmers, the grain crop yield this year exceeded that of the prewar year 1940. We are now fully aware that our principal task in agriculture is to achieve a further increase in the yield of grain and other agricultural crops.

Everybody knows how successful were the grain deliveries this year, to which our government has always attached the greatest significance. The competition, which developed between region and region, district and district, as well as between Republic and Republic, yielded valuable results. You know of this from the numerous letters addressed to Comrade Stalin which have been published in our press. In spite of the drought which afflicted a large part of the Volga area, the fulfillment of the grain deliveries plan this year is successfully nearing completion. A whole number of regions and territories have delivered to the state far more grain this year than last year and more than they did in prewar years. Suffice it to say that 131,000,000 poods of grain were delivered this year more than last year in the Ukraine, 77,000,000 poods in the Northern Caucasus and 40,000,000 poods in Siberia. Now not only is the current supply of bread to the population fully insured, but necessary government stocks have been build up for the future.

With a view to accelerating the further progress of agriculture—the production of cereals, cotton, sugar beets and other crops—as well as to creating a fodder base for the all-round advancement of animal husbandry, the state is initiating broad measures for advancing farming methods to a higher level in the collective farms and state farms, for the supply of

chemical fertilizers and all necessary machines. With the support of the state, the collective farms will now be in a position to advance all branches of collective animal husbandry and at the same time increase their productivity. This year the farms will receive from the state three times as many tractors, twice as many motor trucks, twice as many agricultural machines as in the prewar year 1940. The state is continuously initiating new measures for the all-round extension of the technical facilities of agriculture, for lightening the labor of the collective farmers and for enhancing the productivity of their labor.

This year competition in the collective and state farms attained especially wide dimensions for which our Party organizations primarily deserve the credit. At the same time the collective farms have begun more effectively to combat idlers and disorganizers of collective labor, and this will contribute to a further improvement in the organization of collective farm production and to the growing prosperity of the collective farmers.

Last year's decision of the Government to award decorations for outstanding achievements in agriculture was a powerful stimulus to the development of Socialist competition in the countryside. We now have thousands of Heroes of Socialist Labor on the collective farms and among state farm workers. Tens of thousands of men and women of the collective farms have been awarded orders and medals for big achievements in agriculture.

This year it has been decided to raise the requirements for those who will in the future be rewarded by the government for their achievements in agriculture and stockbreeding and in mastering agricultural technique. It need not be doubted that this year the number of recipients of decorations will not diminish but on the contrary will greatly increase. This is indicated by the scope of competition and the growing labor enthusiasm on the collective farms.

Only a few days ago a decision of the Party and Government was published, adopted on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, introducing a plan for the planting of shelter belts, development of grass and crop rotation and building of ponds and

reservoirs for the purpose of insuring big and stable harvests in the steppe and forest-steppe areas of the European part of the U.S.S.R. The objective envisaged is to utilize the great practical experience and achievements of agricultural science so that the collective farms and state farms of the steppe and forest-steppe districts, armed with advanced techniques, may in the next few years make a big spurt in the further development of agriculture and animal husbandry.

Particular importance is attached to the development of grass and crop rotation and to the large scale planting of wind screens for the protection of fields. The realization of this majestic state plan, with the adoption of which war has been proclaimed on drought and crop failure in the steppe and forest-steppe regions of the European part of our country, will lead our agriculture onto the highroad of big and stable harvests, will render the labor of the collective farmers highly productive and will greatly enhance the economic might of the Soviet Union. Our confidence that this epoch-making plan will be fulfilled is indicative of the speed with which our strength is growing and of our achievements and our potentialities when we follow the path mapped out by the Communist Party and our great Stalin.

New Task in State Planning

In view of the fact that the task of directing the national economy has become more complicated we are faced with new problems in the field of state planning, organization of supply of materials and development of advanced techniques in all branches of economy.

In the field of economic planning special importance now attaches to the work of co-ordinating and expediting the development of the various branches of production. As you know, the plans of production and construction are now drawn up for plants on the basis of progressive technical and economic norms for utilization of equipment and materials, which helps to accelerate the progress of industry, transport and other branches of the national economy. The purpose of

control over the way plans are being fulfilled is not simply to insure the total planned volume of gross output, but also, and as an essential requirement, the fulfillment of programs in respect to the main classes of goods, and in respect to the assortment and improvement of quality of product.

Upon the proper organization of supply of materials, creation of the necessary material stocks and the economical utilization of state resources, largely depends the speed of development of our economy. In view of the present vast scope of production and construction, efficient organization of supply and control to insure that the established norms of expenditure of materials are observed, is of paramount importance to the state.

Accelerated mechanization of processes requiring great expenditure of labor and the introduction of up-to-date techniques in all branches of industry, transport and agriculture have always been considered a most important task of the Communist Party. Comrade Stalin has said in connection with our postwar objectives that ". . . Mechanization of labor processes is for us that new and decisive force without which it will be impossible to maintain our tempo or the new scale of production." Our potentialities in this respect have grown immensely. The industries of the Soviet Union can now produce any machine and the scale of machine-building has moreover already far surpassed the prewar scale. The number of machine tools in our country has greatly increased compared with 1940 and within a short period may be increased still further. The systematic introduction of up-to-date techniques in all branches of the national economy is a powerful lever for enhancing the might of the Soviet state.

Currency Reform and Rising Living Standards

One highly important measure introduced in our country since the thirtieth anniversary of the October Revolution was the currency reform, coupled with the abolition of the ration system of supplying the population and the establishment of uniform and reduced state prices for manufactured goods and

foodstuffs. This decision helped the rapid elimination of the pernicious effects of the excessive amount of money in circulation, a heritage of the war period, and created favorable conditions for accelerating the progress of the national economy.

As a result of the reduction of state retail prices for foodstuffs and manufactured goods and the accompanying reduction of prices in co-operative trade and in the collective farm markets, the purchasing power of the ruble increased twofold.

Thanks to this and also to the growth of money wages, the real wages of workers and office employees have more than doubled compared with last year. Thus the currency reform and the government's measures to improve trade have greatly contributed to raising the standard of living of the workers and office employees.

These measures already became possible two years after the end of the war during which the fascist invaders inflicted untold misery and ruin on our country. This fact is a demonstration to the world of the vast forces and internal potentialities inherent in the Soviet state.

At the same time, following the abolition of the ration system new tasks have arisen in all their urgency in the sphere of Soviet trade both in town and country. Everything must be done to expand the production of consumers' goods to the utmost and to improve their quality and assortment, and also to improve service to the consumers by the trading organizations—both state and co-operative. On the other hand the favorable results of the currency reform can be insured to the full only if we observe the strictest economy in everything, do not tolerate extravagance and save Soviet kopeks. Consciousness of the importance of these simple duties has now penetrated the broadest sections of the Soviet public.

This year has seen the birth of a new patriotic movement among the working masses—a movement for the mobilization of internal reserves, for rendering our enterprises profitable and for accumulations in excess of plan.

In the first nine months of this year total of economies above plan resulting from reduction of the cost of industrial products

exceeded four billion rubles. The emulation which has developed in this field permits us to hope that by the end of this year the total of accumulations above plan will have increased by at least fifty per cent. Emulation in this field furthermore leads to more efficient utilization of machines and of equipment generally at the plants and facilitates better organization of production which deserves encouragement on the part of all our directing bodies. This is a movement which now embraces many thousands of the country's plants and has acquired nationwide importance, thanks to the initiative of the Communist organization and the working people of our capital Moscow which this time, too, has justified the high appreciation accorded to it by Comrade Stalin when he called it the "standard-bearer of the new, Soviet epoch."

Competition Under Socialism

"We are living at a time when our factory and office workers and the collective farm peasants throughout the country are taking part in Socialist competition. There are not, and there should not be now, any mills or factories or collective farms which do not take part in competition or do not strive to increase the number of those participating in Socialist competition within the enterprise or collective farm. Competition is a Communist method of building Socialism," Comrade Stalin has said. And now we see that this Communist method of building Socialism has been adopted by the entire mass of working people of our country. This is an achievement of the October Revolution whose vastness cannot be overrated.

The immortal Lenin said: "Socialism, far from quenching competition, for the first time creates the possibility of developing it on truly broad mass lines, of truly enlisting a majority of the working people in labors where they may display their ability, develop their capacities and reveal their talents, of which there are inexhaustible wellsprings among the people and which capitalism mutilated, crushed and stifled by the thousand and million. Our task now that a Socialist government is in power is to organize competition."

Lenin further said: "The creation of the opportunity, on a

broad and truly mass scale, for the manifestation of enterprise, competition and bold initiative is appearing only now. Every factory from which the capitalist has been ejected or at least bridled by real workers' control, every village where the exploiting landlord has been smoked out and his land taken away is now and only now a field in which the man of labor shows what he is worth, can unbend his back a little, can straighten up, can feel himself a man. For the first time after centuries of working for others, of compulsory work for exploiters, there appears the possibility of working for himself and working backed by all the achievements of up-to-date technique and culture."

Lenin wrote these lines in December, 1917, that is more than thirty years ago. Everyone can now see for himself the fundamental and practical significance of the great tenets of Lenin.

The scope and profundity of Socialist competition show that the entire Soviet people has become a closely knit family of working people, regardless of national or religious distinction. The dispatches and reports addressed to Comrade Stalin daily published in our newspapers, telling of the labor achievements of factories and collective farms, construction jobs and scientific institutions, districts and cities, whole branches of industry and transport, regions, territories and Soviet Republics—all this testifies that our country has become a closely knit family of nations which displayed its unbreakable solidarity and invincibility in the years of the patriotic war and is now from day to day by its participation in the front of labor demonstrating the growing power of moral and political unity and Socialist consciousness of the Soviet people. In our country all are workers, there are no idlers or parasites nor should there be. It is sometimes said abroad that by dislodging these gentry from their snug nests, we acted not quite democratically. But the results have not proved to be bad. Just because we are a state of workers where there is no room for idlers or parasites, we today constitute a closely knit multi-national laboring family and at the same time a strongly organized mighty and invincible army.

Lenin and Stalin teach us not to get swell-headed and not to rest content with what we have achieved. Comrade Stalin incessantly explains the importance of the method of criticism and self-criticism for our progress and for workers of all ranks without exception.

Cultural and Scientific Progress

The work of our organizations on the cultural front is steadily growing in scope and significance. We have 730,000 university students and in addition 270,000 university correspondence course students and more than 34,000,000 high, elementary and secondary technical school pupils. Our press and our cultural organizations are carrying on immense work of scientific education among the masses. Let that capitalist state come forward which would like to vie with the Soviet Union in the field of cultural progress! We are entitled to be proud of the accomplishments of the Soviet arts and especially of the recent accomplishments of Soviet literature, which is no mean achievement of the guidance and direction of the Party. Our literature, cinema and other arts are being increasingly enriched with productions which reveal the ideological substance of events and the endeavors of the people of the Soviet epoch.

True art appeals to the people and leaves deep traces in their minds, hence the great importance of the present flowering of the Soviet arts for the development of what has been accomplished in the Communist education of the Soviet people. Soviet art penetrates far beyond the borders of our country, telling of the life and deeds of our country which the capitalist press strives to conceal from or distort in the eyes of the workers.

Of great fundamental and practical importance for the promotion of scientific theory was the recent discussion in scientific circles on questions of biology. The discussion on the theory of heredity raised profound and fundamental questions relating to the struggle of genuine science founded on the principles of materialism against reactionary idealistic sur-

vivals in science such as the Weissman doctrine of the immutability of heredity, which denies that acquired characteristics can be transmitted to offspring. This discussion stressed the creative significance of materialist principles for all branches of science and this should help to accelerate the progress of scientific theory in our country. We should recall the task set for our scientists by Comrade Stalin, the task of "not only overtaking but outstripping in the nearest future the achievements of science outside our country." The discussion on biological questions was also of great practical significance, especially for the further advancement of our Socialist agriculture.

It is not fortuitous that this struggle has been headed by Academician Lysenko whose services in our common effort to promote Socialist agriculture are well known. The keynote of this discussion was Michurin's famous motto: "We cannot await favors from nature, we must wrest them from her." This injunction of Michurin's, it may be said, is infused with the Bolshevik spirit and is a call not only to scientific workers but also to the millions of practical farmers to engage in active creative work for the benefit and glory of our people.

The scientific discussion on biological questions was conducted under the guiding influence of our Party. Here, too, Comrade Stalin's guiding ideas played a decisive part, opening new and broad vistas in scientific and practical work.

Yes, our country is on a new upgrade. This is borne out by the fervent labor and the improving conditions of the ordinary Soviet people, by the achievements of scientists and artists and by the accomplishments of Socialist construction which we observe daily, in which we share each according to his strength and ability, and of which we have the right to be proud.

Only yesterday our enemies were attempting to convert vast areas of our country into a "desert zone," demolishing and destroying everything in their path. We have still not healed many of the wounds of war, have not rebuilt a number of cities, have not put up all the buildings and houses we need in order to eliminate the aftermath of the invasion of the

fascist barbarians. But we are conducting this work successfully; we are advancing ever more rapidly and confidently and have already left behind many an achievement of prewar days.

Great progress is being made by our country, where the family of Soviet nations is cemented by friendship and common effort for the benefit of the motherland, displaying examples unparalleled in history of co-operation and fraternity among the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union. We are united and animated in the struggle and are led forward by the Bolshevik Party and the great leader of the Soviet people, Comrade Stalin.

II. IN THE VANGUARD OF STRUGGLE FOR LASTING DEMOCRATIC PEACE

Four years ago Comrade Stalin, defining the tasks of the postwar period, said: "To win the war against Germany means consummating a great historical cause. But winning the war does not yet mean insuring the peoples a durable peace and reliable security in the future. The task is not only to win the war but also to prevent the outbreak of fresh aggression and another war if not forever, then at least for a long time to come."

In order to assist the effective realization of these aims the U.S.S.R. took an active part in the elaboration of a number of international agreements while the Second World War was still on.

Everybody will recall how the agreement was elaborated among the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain, to which China and France adhered and which later was taken as a basis for the charter of the United Nations Organization. Of the utmost importance were the agreements between the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain on the German question, adopted at Yalta and Potsdam. We also know that the Potsdam decisions defined the general line of the postwar settlement not only in Europe. A special Potsdam declaration on Japan, together with the Cairo declaration and the Yalta agreement, should serve as the basis for the peace settlement in the Far East as well.

It should not be forgotten that these international agreements were sealed with the blood of our peoples who bore countless sacrifices and made it possible for us to victoriously end the war against fascism and aggression in Europe and Asia. Since then the Soviet Union has invariably insisted that

the obligations undertaken under these agreements must be sacredly adhered to and carried out in practice by all the states.

It cannot be said that these obligations have remained only on paper. It is sufficient to recall that the international organization of the United Nations has been created and is functioning although it is often attempted to lend a twist to its work which does not correspond with its fundamental purposes. Five peace treaties have been concluded—with Italy, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Finland—which are an important contribution to the peace settlement in Europe.

On the other hand, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the peace treaty with Germany is making no headway. At the same time, in the American, British and French zones of occupation of Germany, which, in contravention of the agreements among the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France have been removed from quadripartite control, people who were prominent under the fascist regime are being restored to key positions in industry and administration. Moreover, many democratic organizations are deprived of the opportunity of functioning normally, which the Soviet Union considers arbitrary and impermissible.

Nor is the treaty with Japan making any headway.

Naturally the Soviet Union is insisting that the work of framing the peace treaties for Germany and Japan be expedited in conformity with what was envisaged in allied agreements. This means that it must be the purpose in framing the said peace treaties to prevent the resurgence of Germany and Japan as aggressive powers, and consequently they must help to promote the demilitarization and democratic reconstruction of these countries. In conformity with this, the Soviet government insists upon the complete disarming of Germany and on the implementation of the well-known plan for international control of the industrial region of the Ruhr as the principal base of Germany's war industry. In conformity with this, too, the Soviet government insists that war industry be completely banned in Japan and that proper international control be established to prevent the restoration of war indus-

try in that country. But at the same time, the Soviet government considers that peace industry must not be stifled either in Germany or Japan. Both the German and the Japanese peoples must be given the opportunity to secure everything their own industries serving peace needs can provide.

If we want to be true to the obligations we assumed with regard to the peace settlement with Germany and Japan, this is the course we must follow. Only those who want endlessly to protract the occupation of Germany and Japan, disregarding the legitimate interests of their peoples, can evade fulfilling the aforesaid international agreements.

Such is how matters stand regarding the chief tasks of the postwar peace settlements.

Against Aggression and War Propaganda

Another major issue in foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. is the struggle against the new forces of aggression and consequently against propaganda for a new war and against instigators of a new war. With this purpose, as far back as 1946 the Soviet Union submitted to the U.N. its well-known proposal for a general reduction of armaments and prohibition of the atomic weapons. In spite of the resistance of the aggressive elements this proposal was in the main accepted by the U.N.

Last year the Soviet Union submitted a proposal to the General Assembly for the adoption of measures against war propaganda and instigators of a new war. After all sorts of reservations and limitations had been introduced into our draft, the U.N. adopted a decision on this matter. The General Assembly's resolution was so thoroughly washed and scrubbed that it contained not a word of reference to instigators of a new war. Only in the title of the resolution did there remain any mention that it was aimed against instigators of a new war. Nevertheless even this resolution is of positive value in the eyes of all honest supporters of international security, since it condemns all forms of propaganda having the purpose of creating, or capable of creating or hastening, a threat to peace, violation of peace, or act of aggression.

In order that the resolution on reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons should not remain a dead letter, the Soviet Union this year made concrete proposals in extension of the said decision of the U.N.

The Soviet Union proposed a reduction by one-third within one year of all the existing armed forces and armaments of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China—the five countries which as the permanent members of the Security Council bear the chief responsibility for the maintenance of international security. This proposal directly affects only the great powers and does not apply to the armaments of any other state.

For Arms Reduction and Atom Bomb Ban

Furthermore, the Soviet Union proposed that the atomic weapon be prohibited as a weapon designed for aggressive purposes and not for purposes of defense. In order to exercise supervision and control to see that the measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic weapons were carried into effect, we proposed that an international control body be set up within the framework of the Security Council to which the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., France and China would have to submit full official data relative to the state of their armaments and armed forces.

This question was debated in the General Assembly and its committees for over a month. The great powers resorted to every excuse not to agree to a reduction of their armed forces and armaments or to the prohibition of atomic weapons and secured the passage by the General Assembly of a resolution which suited their wishes.

Particularly unfriendly was the reception the representatives of the United States and Great Britain gave to our proposal to prohibit atomic weapons. They cannot deny the indisputable statement that the atomic bomb is a weapon of aggression and not of defense, that it is designed for the mass de-

struction of peaceful citizens and chiefly of big cities, and that only fascist fiends and not representatives of free nations can dream of employing such a weapon. But those whom Comrade Stalin called obedient "Churchill's pupils in aggression" are seeking every excuse to prevent the prohibition of the criminal atomic weapons.

In this connection two major camps of public opinion are becoming more and more clearly defined.

In the United States the recently formed Progressive Party headed by Henry Wallace, has come out in favor of prohibiting atomic weapons, as also have quite a number of American scientists and public figures, not to mention the millions of working people whose voice is not reflected in the bought and hired organs of the yellow bourgeois press.

In the summer of last year in the so-called Working Committee of the Atomic Commission of the Security Council, the majority of the states, including Great Britain, pronounced in favor of destroying atomic bombs, although, owing to the pressure of the United States, they did not adhere to this position very long. It has long been known that many British scientists consider the position of the Soviet Union in this matter to be correct. There can be no doubt that in any country the supporters of prohibition of atomic weapons constitute the overwhelming majority of the people, although this does not find reflection in the General Assembly.

The more stubbornly the aggressive elements resist the prohibition of the atomic weapon, the wider will become the split between the forces of aggression and imperialism on the one hand, and the forces standing for the promotion of general peace and democracy on the other.

From this it follows that the partisans of the atomic weapon will with every day become more and more isolated from world public opinion. From this it also follows that in leading the struggle for the prohibition of the criminal atomic weapon the Soviet Union stands at the head of all peace-loving nations, of all progressive men and women throughout the world.

Soviet Foreign Policy Consistent

Until the Second World War the capitalist world was divided into bourgeois democratic countries and fascist countries. At that time the chief instigators of aggression were the fascist and militaristic countries—Germany, Italy and Japan—which formed the so-called anti-Comintern bloc. It was they who started the Second World War which ended in ignominious failure for all fascists.

Long before the Second World War, the Soviet Union called upon all non-aggressive countries to unite in order to resist fascist aggression, and always condemned deals by individual great powers with aggressive fascist countries at the expense of other peace-loving nations, such as the shameful Munich compact at the expense of Czechoslovakia.

When the Second World War broke out, the Soviet Union did not have to change its policy upon entering the anti-Hitler coalition together with Great Britain and the United States. This was a natural sequence to the foreign policy the Soviet government had been pursuing before the Second World War as well. The dangerous threat overhanging Europe, and not only Europe, which emanated from fascist Germany and aggressive Japan, with their lunatic plans of world supremacy and of crushing all states that opposed it, compelled the ruling circles of Great Britain and the United States to unite with the Soviet Union against the forces of aggression and fascism.

Thanks to this alliance between the U.S.S.R. and the democratic countries, the aggressive powers were vanquished and important agreements were concluded with regard to the post-war settlement. The Soviet Union to this day holds by these agreements which were designed to protect the interests of democracy and to prevent new aggression. The Soviet Union legitimately demands that these agreements be carried out in practice and that new questions which may arise in connection with this be also settled by mutual agreement between the interested powers.

No one can deny the consistency of the Stalin foreign policy

of the Soviet government nor that it is fully in accord with the interests of international security.

The whole point is that since the end of the Second World War changes have taken place in the policy of the ruling circles of the United States and Great Britain which virtually imply renunciation of the agreements concluded jointly with the U.S.S.R. aimed at the establishment of a stable democratic peace after the war. These reflect the desire of these circles to impose their peace, an imperialist peace, upon other countries, which is incompatible with the liberating aims of the anti-Hitler coalition of the powers. They evidently consider that since the danger of war has passed for them they may ignore the old agreements with the U.S.S.R. and disregard their existence.

Predatory Plans of U. S. and Britain

Among the ruling circles of these countries there are many who hanker to proceed to realize their predatory plans, plans aimed at establishing the world supremacy of the Anglo-American bloc. They believe that with the victory over Germany and Japan, the ground has been cleared for the realization of their plans of domination over all other nations although they cannot say so openly. The press of the imperialist circles attacks our country with ever mounting shrillness and viciferousness, for it is known to all that the Soviet Union is an irreconcilable foe of imperialist predatory plans.

After this it will be clear why major international agreements concluded with the participation of the Soviet Union are being violated at every step and why, for instance, the Berlin question, in spite of the agreements reached between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, Great Britain and France, still remains unsettled.

Comrade Stalin gave a profound explanation of this policy of the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and Great Britain: "The thing is that those in the U.S.A. and Great Britain who inspire an aggressive policy, do not consider themselves interested in agreement and in cooperation with the U.S.S.R. What they

want is not agreement and cooperation but talk about agreement and cooperation so as to put the blame on the U.S.S.R. by preventing agreement and thus to 'prove' that cooperation with the U.S.S.R. is impossible. What the war instigators striving to unleash a new war fear most of all is the reaching of agreements and cooperation with the U.S.S.R., because a policy of concord with the U.S.S.R. undermines the position of the instigators of war and deprives the aggressive policy of these gentlemen of any purpose."

Comrade Stalin defined this policy when he said that "the policy of the present leaders of the United States and Great Britain is a policy of aggression, a policy of unleashing a new war."

From this viewpoint it is clear why new American military bases are being created in all parts of the globe, why the American authorities want to maintain their troops in so many countries and why the American military budget has been inflated this year to wartime dimensions and to eleven times the size it was, for example in the prewar year, 1940. From this viewpoint it is also clear why in Washington there is being preserved to this day the Anglo-American military staff which was set up during the Second World War and which is now working on new plans of aggression secretly from both the American and the British peoples. There is a particular lot of talk of late about the creation of all sorts of "alliances" and "blocs" of western states though they are not being threatened by any other states. All this fuss about the formation of "western alliances," "Atlantic alliances," "Mediterranean blocs" and the like, is camouflaged by defensive declarations by which only excessively naive people can be taken in. In reality these "alliances" and "blocs" have as their purpose preparation for new aggression and the precipitation of new wars in which definite ruling groups are interested but certainly not the peoples of the United States, Britain or any other country. In the case of Britain and France they are at variance with the pacts of friendship and mutual assistance which these countries have with the U.S.S.R.

The People's Rejection of War Seen in U. S. Elections

Comrade Stalin has also pronounced his authoritative word on how the policy of the instigators of a new war is likely to end. He said: "It can end only in ignominious failure for the instigators of a new war. Churchill, the main instigator of a new war, has already managed to deprive himself of the trust of his own nation and of the democratic forces throughout the whole world. The same fate lies in store for all the other instigators of war. The horrors of the recent war are still too fresh in the memory of the peoples, and the public forces favoring peace are too strong for Churchill's pupils in aggression to overpower them and turn them toward a new war."

Comrade Stalin's statement should have a sobering effect. It shows that the anti-Soviet intrigues in which various agents of the instigators of a new war are now engaged, are under the vigilant observation of the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the whole world. Everyone knows that such things do not love the light.

But the time has passed when the peoples were blind tools of one or another ruling clique. The elections in the U.S.A. on November second resulted in a victory for the Democratic Party and President Truman. The failure of the Republican Party and Dewey who came forward in the elections with a frankly reactionary and most aggressive program, indicates that the majority of the American people reject this program.

Postwar Changes in Europa and Asia

The Second World War which ended with the defeat of fascism led to substantial changes in Europe and not only in Europe.

The weight of the strengthened Soviet Union in international affairs has been further enhanced. A number of peoples' democracies with which the U.S.S.R. is bound by ties of friendship and mutual assistance have taken the road to Socialism. The treachery of the leading nationalist group in Yugoslavia

has done great damage to her people but there can be no doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, backed by its internationalist traditions, will find the way which will enable Yugoslavia to rejoin the closely knit family which embraces the U.S.S.R. and the new democracies.

The Communist Parties in the European countries have grown in strength and numbers. The demolition of fascism has opened broad prospects for the growth of all the forces of the democratic and anti-imperialist camp.

The situation in Asia has likewise radically changed since the Second World War. The population of Asia comprises 1,200,000,000 of the two and a quarter billion people of the globe. The peoples of Asia have now stirred into movement in which an ever greater part is played by the forces of national liberation. Only sworn enemies of humanity's progress can throw spokes in the wheels of this national liberation movement. Such is the onward march of history.

The pillars of imperialism are steadily crumbling and becoming unreliable. At the same time, the forces of democracy, peace and Socialism are growing and cementing their ranks. In this situation the imperialist forces more and more frequently base their plans on intensifying the aggressiveness of their policy, on creating an atmosphere of war hysteria and so on. These methods are well known.

The noisier the warmongering gentry become, the more will they repel the millions of common folk in all countries and the sooner will they become internationally isolated. And at the same time the international camp of supporters of peace and democracy, in whose vanguard stands the U.S.S.R., is growing stronger and stronger and becoming a great and invincible force.

Under the Guidance of Lenin and Stalin

Our country is on a new upsurge. This is to be observed in the economic achievements, in the scope and character of cultural endeavor, in the moral and political unity of the Soviet people which has risen to a new, higher level. The

strength of the Soviet people grows from year to year. The international prestige of the U.S.S.R. and its influence in world affairs become ever stronger, confirming the correctness of the policy of our Party. And accordingly the Stalin foreign policy is imbued with unwavering consistency and calm confidence in the morrow.

We owe our achievements to the Bolshevik Party, to the guidance of Lenin and Stalin.

In the summer of 1917, in the days of military defeats and economic dislocation, when our opponents declared that there was no political party in Russia that would consent to take the entire political power into its hands, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin at once retorted that there was such a party, that "our Party does not refuse to do so; it is prepared at any minute to take over the entire power."

In that very year the Bolshevik Party which then numbered only 240,000 members, headed the October Socialist Revolution and led our country to the triumph of the people's rule, Soviet rule.

Then the Bolshevik Party brought our motherland out of the imperialist war, turned over the landed estates to the peasants and put down the attempts at resistance by the capitalists and landlords. Then, too, we defeated the forces of foreign intervention which had formed a puppet "Alliance of Fourteen States" and which were beaten in their attempts to restore bourgeois and landlord rule in Russia.

After this, the principal task of the Bolshevik Party was to repair the economic dislocation caused by the protracted civil war. Our enemies declared: "The Bolsheviks know only how to destroy." How often did they affirm that without the landlords and capitalists the national economy could not be restored! The Party of Lenin and Stalin retorted to these affirmations with the Bolshevik plan of Socialist industrialization, with the triumphant Stalin Five-Year Plans which transformed our country.

After this, they prophesied that "the Bolsheviks will break their neck over the peasant question," that Socialist reconstruction of agriculture was impossible. Guided by Comrade Stalin,

the Bolshevik Party solved this problem, too. Having eliminated the kulaks as a class, it brought about the collectivization of many millions of peasant farms and created unprecedented conditions for the progress of agriculture and radical improvement of the conditions of the peasantry.

The outcome of these transformatory measures was that we were able to secure the elevation to a new level of the alliance of workers and peasants which turned into the moral and political unity of Socialist society, which had no previous example in world history.

In the accomplishment of these tasks the Party time and again encountered the resistance of agents of the class enemy, especially of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites. Having purified itself of them the Bolshevik Party became still stronger and rallied around Comrade Stalin.

The events of the Great Patriotic War are fresh in the memories of all. Stalin headed the defense of our country and took over the direction of the country's armed forces—and the Soviet people vanquished German fascism and its allies. It was thought that the U.S.S.R. would be impoverished and weakened, but it grew stronger than ever in the Great Patriotic War. It was expected that after the war the Soviet Union would be dependent on the leading capitalist states, but the Soviet state is continuing as heretofore to pursue its independent Stalin foreign policy guided by the interests of the Soviet people and of international security.

The war ended. We obtained the opportunity to return to our peaceful labors. The Soviet Union is overfulfilling its new postwar Five-Year Plan. Progress is likewise being made in the other countries which have taken the road of Socialism.

Now in ruling bourgeois circles all sorts of absurd "fears" are rife—they are frightened by our achievements, they are afraid of the increasing tempo of the U.S.S.R.'s economic progress. Naturally this will not induce the Soviet people to relax their labor efforts but, on the contrary, will animate the millions of laboring people of our country, our workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, our youth, to still greater effort.

What is the foundation of our mounting successes? This

question may be answered briefly. The foundation of our successes is the guidance of the Bolshevik Party, of the great Stalin, which has welded together the working class and the working peasants in their struggle for the triumph of Socialism.

There are capitalist countries where much wealth and human experience have been accumulated, where there are natural resources and much else. But the obsolescent capitalist system itself, with its private ownership and anarchy of production, and the social and political antagonisms and crises which rend it, doom these countries to instability and catastrophic slumps, to periodical shocks and revolutionary upheavals.

The Communist Party—Organizer of Our Victories

Different is the situation in the Soviet Union where the Socialist social system stands firmly on its feet and is the inexhaustible source of the growing strength of our state, of the labor enthusiasm and spiritual progress of the Soviet people. In our country, in great things and in small, can be seen the directing and mobilizing will of the Communist Party which recognizes no insuperable obstacles.

The October Revolution tested and steeled the Lenin-Stalin leadership of our country which has won the boundless confidence and love of the Soviet people. Our people has come to occupy its honorable and historic place among the nations and has demonstrated that, led by the Communist Party and the great Stalin, it is capable of performing ever-new, great deeds.

Long live our Soviet motherland—stronghold of friendship of our peoples and shrine of their glory!

Long live the great Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the battle-steeled vanguard of the Soviet people, the inspirer and organizer of our victories!

Under the banner of Lenin and the leadership of Stalin, forward to the triumph of Communism!

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